The arrival of the young wife, tara·s, in the husband's village is celebrated again with slaughtering, a greeting to which she is entitled (cf. folk tale, LVIII). 585 [601]

Today only a few Hottentots could afford several wives, as ancient custom allows, because of their impoverishment. Also the relationship between the sexes has deteriorated to such an extent that it is not necessary for a man to have the intimate relationship with several wives officially sanctioned. 177 595

2. Intra-Family Relationships

a) In the relationship of husband and wife, the honored position of the wife differentiates the family of the Hottentots clearly from that of the Hereros. The woman is considered the mistress of the hut in all household matters. Thus under certain circumstances she has the right to refuse her husband the right to enter the hut. She manages the food supply. Her husband asks for milk and she gives it to him. In addition, the fact that she does the most important job in the household of a herdsman, namely the milking, differentiates her from the wife of a Herero. The honored position of the woman in the marriage relationship does not prevent occasional quarrels in which the husband makes full use of his physical superiority. 593 171 562 462

Only barrenness lowers the esteem of a wife permanently.

b) The relationship of the parents, //gũ·ǂra, to the children, /gõ·an. Caring for small children, aba·, is naturally the mother's business. She carries her child on her back in a lamb skin called //hani·b (see Plate X). 854 [601]

"//Haniba !kxara !", i.e. Drag the aba skin after you!" is shouted to little children when they sneeze (sĩ). In other cases I heard the mother wish the sneezing child "!oǂman kxao !," i.e. "push your rear !" (*-an seems to be a reflexive particle). Both wishes refer to the eagerly-awaited first attempts of the child to walk. The baby tries to get up from its helpless sitting position on the floor and at first always falls back again on its rear. When it can walk, it drags the aba skin, which it has by then outgrown, after itself and uses it as a toy. 854 866

[300] The parents assign each child, even grown ones, a certain cow for its use (*maĩam, i.e., placing to the mouth). The child may only milk for itself this one cow, ãǂbes, mornings and evenings. During the day, when the cattle are in the pasture, he is served what is left of his milk. Likewise those who are married sometimes get four or five cows from their parents. 855 422 [585]

In bringing up the children I have only observed ordinary punishments for obvious misbehavior or foolishness. Formerly education also extended to late boyhood or young manhood (83), but today it is mostly left to

83. See 88. 88. J. Olpp, Aus dem Sagenschatz der Nama-Khoi-khoin (Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft für Thüringen zu Jena, Bd. VI, 1887)

e young people themselves (see page 309). The power of the parents training their children has declined since the whites have become minant. Where formerly the son, /gõ·ab, as long as he was only half-own, was dependent chiefly on his father for his support and therefore so felt morally dependent on him, today he can make himself independent at an early age in the service of whites. The daughter, /gõ·as, ho was formerly dependent on her parents until she married, can support herself with her charms and even get all the little luxuries she desires.

But in spite of the shattering of the parents' power over the raising the children, the prestige of the parents in the family has still been reserved. That is clearest in advanced age. The grandparents are not rced by anyone in the family to work and each person has the obligation to be of service to them. That old and helpless people are exposed, one occasionally hears claimed in the country, is a fable in my belief is confused with the emergency customs of the Bushmen. For such a eatment of aged people is a direct contradiction of the viewpoint of the ople as reflected most clearly in the sagas and tales. The address ti nao/b or ti //nao/osa, i.e. "my grandfather" or "my grandmother" is ed also as an expression of great respect for people who have no relationship whatever to the speaker. The folk tale no. XXIV gives us a cture of the domestic duties of a child.

The terms for father and mother vary, depending on whose parents the ords refer to. A child always addresses its father with ti°dāb or dā.tse, d its mother with ti ais or aise: my father! my mother! The expressions da.b and mama·s are probably borrowed from Cape Dutch.

[301] The Hottentot feels it as a coarse malapropism that the children of the Namib Bushmen address their parents sao/b and sao/os. For ese designations are reserved for the case when one is speaking of parents someone whom one addresses as "thou", whether one is addressing a ild or an old man: sa sao/b, thy father etc.

If it concerns the parents of a third person, the term used is usually //(e)ĩb di //gũ∫b (respectively -s) or //(e)ĩb di ĩ∫b (respectively -s), i.e. his father (respectively his mother). 601

Without breaking the above-mentioned rules, the following expressions that I also heard frequently are correct: sa //gũ∫b, sa ĩ∫b, thy father and correspondingly thy mother. Further I heard (e)ĩb di dāb(ais), his father (his mother).

The stepmother is °õ!gã∫//gũ∫s, i.e. "the mother who stands behind the one who bore the child."

The designation °abo·b for the father I found only in the language of the folktales, never in conversation.

c) I noticed a great variety of addresses used between siblings. At first I thought I was hearing terms of endearment or teasing names. But when I sought to determine their meaning, I came upon rigid norms which indicate the Hottentots' strong sense of age rank even within the sibling circle (!gãb, -s, -n = brother, sister, siblings); it is the exclusive privilege of the older siblings to call the younger ones by name. The younger siblings designate the oldest sister, the person who commands the most respect among the siblings, as °ausis (3. f.), when speaking to her or about her. The next oldest one or ones are called °irõ·s (3. sr.). The younger siblings address the oldest brother as °a·budib. The next oldest one or ones are called °bi·dirob. [561]

d) I have been able to find out the least about the in-law relationships. The relationship of the four in-laws to their married children is the same in address as it is between parents and children; they use the second person singular. The in-laws are called /u∫i·b and /u∫i·s in the third person.

The wife is called °!oaras in address by her husband's relatives or when she is spoken about in the third person. By all the feminine relatives of her husband, with the exception of her mother-in-law, without consideration for differences in age, she is called χaẽ.s.

[302] /u·∫iaob means brother-in-law. In the word /u·∫igukχa, that is used to designate two brothers-in-law, the reciprocal particle, -gu, seems to express the equality of rank between the two in relation to each other and the onesided relationship of respect for the parents-in-law.

Some light on the position of the brother-in-law in the family is shed by the phrase with which the Hottentot occasionally appeases a whirlwind: "/u∫iaob //goẽ!" Just as one does not make the children cry in the presence of the brother-in-law by spanking them and does 784 789

not quarrel, but behaves properly, so the wind is warned not to throw the objects around so wildly that it has seized: "The brother-in-law is there!"

e) Nephews and cousins (direct and by marriage). The relationship of the children to the siblings and brothers-in-law of their parents is regulated in the following way. The children are called by name by them, but the children use others words in address as well as in conversation.

1. They call the older brother of the father and the husband of the mother's older sister °gai·dāb, i.e. literally "great (or old) father."

2. They call the younger brother of the father and the husband of the mother's younger sister °dā·daro·b, i.e. "little father" (-ro is a diminutive particle).

3. They call the elder sister of the father °mĩgyi·s.

4. They call the younger sister of the father °mĩ·gyiro·s.

5. They call the older brother of the mother and the husband of the father's older sister °o·meb.

6. They call the younger brother of the mother °o·mero·b; the husband of the father's younger sister o·meda·b.

7. They call the older sister of the mother °ais gais or °gai mās, i.e. as in No. 1, "great mother."

8. They call the younger sister of the mother °ai·ros or °ma·maros, i.e. "little mother."

The male Hottentot calls only the children of his sister nephew and niece, //nu/ri·b, -s. A female Hottentot has no //nu/ri·b or //nu/ri·s. There is no word to designate the children of her siblings. The way the children refer to her has been mentioned above.

Children of siblings address each other in the manner mentioned above for siblings. Only in one case did I see the terms of respect omitted between the children of two brothers.

[303] Between a woman's children and her brothers there is a relationship that (aside from the ties between parents and children) is considered by the Hottentots, the closest that can exist between two related generations. Whether this relationship has a background connected with the rights of inheritance I was not able to establish. I believe not. Whatever it is -- a naive, sympathetic rapprochement between the mother's brother and his nephews sometimes expressed by the uncle's consciousness of his duty to love the children of his sister, sometimes by the children's friendly feelings of dependence on the

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

342 mats of the hut. The floor in the interior is smeared over with a
[353] mixture of cowdung and blood, often renewed, and is covered with skins. In the centre a depression is made as a hearth for the fire, and
[354] round this are stretched the mats or skins on which the inmates sleep.
513 To the right of the rear opening is erected a frame of four poles with a net spread over them. On and under this are placed all sorts of household possessions.

Family and Kinship

592 Each family has its own hut, where the children remain with their
595 parents till marriage. Occasionally a number of young girls share a hut together, also even at times a number of boys, but this is not general. It is much more usual for the members of the family to remain together in the same hut until a new household is formed by
[594] the marriage of a son or daughter. The family in a narrow sense thus comprises a man, his wife, and their unmarried children.[1] All the Hottentot tribes formerly permitted polygyny, which, however, was not practised to any great extent. More than two wives were seldom found. Each wife had her own hut, in which she lived with her children, while the husband stayed as a rule in the hut of his first wife.
59 Nowadays, the people are ostensibly monogamists. After marriage the wife goes to live with her husband's people, although the husband may stay for some time with her parents' group before finally returning with her to his own home. Marriage is thus actually patrilocal, but in exceptional cases, if there is good reason for it, the wife will remain altogether with her own people, the husband joining them permanently.

594 Each family has its own herds of cattle, sheep, and goats, and in moving with them in search of water and grass will often act
[361] independently of the rest. Nowadays it is largely the desire for social intercourse that induces the people to form a camp, although in the old days the need of protection against enemies must also have been a powerful motive.

● 601 From the way in which related families still tend to camp together, it will be seen that kinship is a factor of great importance in the social life of the Hottentots. The relationship system of the people,[2] as

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 332; Kohler, op. cit., 342; Wandres, "Khoi-Khoin," 317; von François, op. cit., 212 sq.

[2] Hoernlé, op. cit., 17–23. The list of relationship terms given by Schulze, op. cit., 299–322, differs in some details from the above, and is not so complete.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

• 601 may be expected from the fact that they have a clan organization, is of the type customarily known as "classificatory", i.e. terms of relationship are applied by a man not only to the members of his own family, but also, according to certain rules, to classes of people who stand in a definite relation to his parents; and behind this linguistic usage there is almost always a set of mutual obligations between the man and all those to whom he applies these terms.

The primary terms of relationship are naturally those of the immediate family circle. Children address their parents directly by the term *ĭi* (com. sing.), the feminine form *ĭs* or *éis* being applied to the mother, the masculine form *ĭp* or *éip* to the father. When speaking of their parents, but never in direct address, they use the term *//gún* (from *//gā*, to be fertile)—*//gúb* (masc. sing.) for the father, *//gús* (fem. sing.) for the mother. A more familiar term for father is *tatab*, and for mother *mamas*. Parents, again, speak to or of their children by the term */gõan* or *õan* (from */oa*, to bear). A son is *õab* or */gõab*, a daughter *õas* or */gõas*. Brothers and sisters use for each other the term */gān*; and here the relative ages of the person speaking and of the person or persons spoken to or of are carefully distinguished. An older brother is */gāb geib* (big brother), an older sister */gās geis*; a younger brother is */gāb ǂkami* (young brother) or */gāsab*, and a younger sister */gās ǂkams* or */gāsas*.

The application of these terms is also extended to more distant relatives. Thus *mamas* ("mother") is applied also to the mother's sisters, those older than the mother being called *mama geis*, those younger *mama ǂkams* or *mamaros* (dimin.). In the same way *tatab* ("father") is also applied to the father's brothers, again with the proper modifications for relative age. The term *mamas* is further applied to the wives of the father's brothers, and the term *tatab* to the husbands of the mother's sisters, and to the sons of the father's father's brothers. The children of all these people are called by the same term */gān* used for own brother or sister, with the proper modifications for sex and relative age. Finally, the term *õan* or */gõan* ("child") is applied by a man also to the children of his brother (i.e. to those who call him *tatab*, "father"), and similarly by a woman also to the children of her sister.

On the other hand, certain other kinds of relatives are called by new and distinctive terms not used within the immediate family circle. For all persons, male and female, of all generations above those of father and mother, one term is used, *//ndon* ("the tip of an

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

601 arrow", so that it refers, as it were, to the beginning of the family). The form *//náob* (masc. sing.) is used for men—father's father, mother's father, their brothers, fathers, and father's fathers; the form *//nâos* (fem. sing.) for women—father's mother, mother's mother, their sisters, and the father's father's sisters. Conversely the children of any person called */gõan* are spoken of as *//núrin* (masc., *//núrib*; fem., *//núris*). This term is therefore the reciprocal for *//nâon*.

The father's sister is nowadays called *mugis* (from the Dutch "moekie", little mother), but the old term was *êis geis*, "big mother," or *tàras*, or *gei tàras*, "the great respected one." Her husband is now called *omeb* (from Dutch "oom", uncle), also, through courtesy, *tatab*; there does not appear to be a distinctive term for him. The father's sister, again, has no special term for her brother's children, but uses a descriptive term—*!gãb õan* (brother's child) or *tàrap õan*, with the proper modifications according to the sex of the person concerned. Occasionally, however, she will refer to her brother's son as */uip*, a term used for relatives-in-law generally.

The mother's brother is nowadays also called *omeb*, but formerly was *//náob* or *//náosab*; and his wife is now *mugis*, formerly *//nâos*. He in turn applies to his sister's children the term *//núrin*. This term, which as we have already seen is also the term for grandchildren, is further applied to cross-cousins, i.e. to the children of one's mother's brother and father's sister—the masc. form *//núrib* to the sons, the fem. form *//núris* to the daughters. Sometimes, however, a man will address the daughter of his mother's brother or father's sister by the term *tarâs*, "wife,"[1] and conversely a woman will address the son of her mother's brother or her father's sister by the term *aob*, "husband."

The term *aob* is also applied by a woman, not only to her husband, but also to his brother, and to the husband of her sister; while the term *tarâs* is further applied by a man to his brother's wife, and to his wife's sisters, as well as to his own wife. The general term for relatives-in-law, however, is */uin* or */nã khoin* (from the verbs */ùi* and */na*, to become related by marriage). Thus a man applies the term */ùip* (masc.) to his wife's father, wife's brother, sister's husband, and daughter's husband, while a woman applies it to her husband's father and to her brother's son. The term */ùis* (fem.), again, is applied by a man to his wife's mother and to his son's wife,

[1] This word *tarâs* is to be carefully distinguished from *tàras* used for father's sister, etc., from which it differs in pronunciation.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

and by a woman to her husband's mother, husbands sister, brother's wife, and son's wife. Finally, the husbands of two sisters call each other *Igámireb* or *Igámeb*, while the wives of two brothers call each other *Igámes*.

These linguistic usages are in many cases correlated with specific rules and observances regulating the conduct with regard to one another of a person, and all those to whom he applies any term of relationship, the nature of these rules and observances varying according to the nature of the relationship. To take only some of the more immediately striking instances, we find that the use of the term *gei tàras*, "great respected one," for the father's sister is correlated with the fact that great deference is due to a woman on the part of her brother's children. The occasional use of the terms *aob*, "husband," and *tarás*, "wife," between cross-cousins of opposite sexes implies that marriage is permissible between them, and this is actually found to be the case; while, on the other hand, the use of the term */gān*, brother or sister, between ortho-cousins rules out the idea of marriage and implies a type of behaviour between them different from that between cross-cousins. The careful manner, again, in which these kinship terms distinguish the relative ages of the person speaking and of the person referred to reflects the extreme regard for age running right through the social life of the Hottentots. The type of behaviour expected of one person towards another is thus often directly indicated by the kinship term in use between them. The *terms of relationship*, in other words, also often express *actual social relationships*. These play a great part in the whole moral regulation of the lives of the people, and will be discussed in some detail in the following chapter, when the social life of the Hottentots is considered.

Family Servants

The families of the more wealthy Naman frequently have attached to them a few people in the capacity of servants or dependents.[1] These servants are mostly Bergdama, a people of negro stock which has long been in subjection to the Naman, but sometimes also include Bushmen, Ovaherero, or even impoverished Naman. Many of them were taken or picked up in the old days as small children, after

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 17; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 304; Fritsch, op. cit., 364; Chpp, op. cit., 24; Kohler, op. cit., 340–1; Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 681; Idem, "Ueber Rechtsbewusstsein . . . der Naman," 278.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

young girls sharing a hut together, and it may happen that a number of boys also share a hut, but this is not the general rule among the Nama. It is much more usual for the family to remain together until a new household is formed after marriage. Near each of the brothers in a family would be grouped his immediate dependents; his married sons on his right, the eldest furthest to the right, the youngest nearest to his father's hut, while on the left would be any married daughter who had not yet removed to her husband's people and any widowed sister who had come home to live with him. Other dependents of various kinds would also be camped to the left of a man's hut. Chief among these would be the *!Gon*, or servants, hardly to be called slaves, who were generally of the Berg Damara race, a people of negro affiliations which has long been in subjection to the Hottentots. Many Berg Damara even now are attached to Hottentot families as dependents. These people are free to marry as they will, and are never bought or sold, but they generally remain attached to the same family for long periods. Family servants is perhaps the best name for them. Many of those whose history I have studied were taken, or picked up, as small children by the Hottentots after one of the numerous wars when families were scattered and the children were left helpless in the veld, and they were then brought up in the family, acting as herdboys and in general counting themselves as members of the family. Intermixture of this black Race with the Nama is now taking place, but there is little trace of it having been frequent in the past.

It remains now to describe the conduct of people towards one another in the society, and this depends to a very large extent upon the kinship system, though relative age is also an important factor.

The kinship system of the Hottentots is a classificatory one with many similarities to the kinship systems found among the Bantu. The relative ages of the person speaking and of the person spoken of are very carefully recognised in these kinship terms. There is a special term for the mother's brother, who stands in a very close relation to his sisters' children, and there are special

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

• 601

terms for cross cousins, corresponding to the special relation in which these people stand to one another.

The following are the terms arranged according to generations in a scheme devised by Professor Radcliffe-Brown, which enables one to get a very rapid insight into the general system:—

Second ascending generation. There is one term, *//Náon*, used for all persons, men and women, of all generations above those of the mother and father. The same word means the tip of an arrow, and so refers to the beginning of the family as it were. The singular masculine form, *//Náob*, is used for men, the singular feminine, *//Náos*, for women. The term *//Náob* is applied to the father's father, and the mother's father, and to the brothers of these, and also to the fathers and the fathers' fathers of all these men. The term *//Náos* is used for the father's mother, for the mother's mother, for their sisters, and for the father's father's sisters.

First ascending generation. My father is *Tatab*, and the term may be applied to my father's brothers, the older ones being distinguished as *Tata Geiṗ*, that is big father, the younger ones being distinguished as *Tata ≠Kami*, young father, or *Tatarob* which is the diminutive of Tatab. The term is further applied, with the proper modifications for older or younger, to the sons of my father's father's brothers, and to the husbands of my mother's sisters.

Other words for father are *Ĩṗ* and *Éiṗ* which can be used in direct address; *//Gũb* (from the verb *//gũ* to be fertile) which is used only in speaking of the own father and never in direct address; and *Abob*, an archaic word used nowadays only in legends or in the Christian prayers translated into Nama.

My mother is *Mamas* and so also are her sisters, older ones being *Mama Geis*, younger ones *Mama ≠Kams* or *Mamaros*. The term is used also for the wives of my father's brothers.

Mamas is the familiar term for mother. The most dignified term is *Éis*, with its distinctions *Éis Keis* and *Éiros*. Another term is *Is* which can also be used in direct address. *//Gũs* is used only in speaking of the own mother, not in direct address.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

601

My father's sister is nowadays called *Mugis* (or *Mugiros*, if she is young), but the older men and women deny that this is a pure Nama word. There is a Dutch word *Moeke*, meaning little mother, and it is most likely that this, together with many other terms of kinship, has been adopted by the Nama from the Dutch. My most reliable informants tell me that the old Nama way of addressing the father's sister was *Êis Geis*, that is, big mother. This woman is also called *Tàras* or *Gei Tàras*,[13] the great respected one, and great deference is, or was, due to her. The father's sister's husband is called *Omeb* nowadays, a term most certainly borrowed from the Dutch Om(uncle). It can be used in the diminutive form *Omerob* also. This man may also be addressed as *Tatab* through courtesy, but there is no distinctive term applied to him.

[604]

My mother's brother is properly *//Nâob* or *//Nâosab*, but he may be called *Omeb* nowadays. His wife is *//Nâos*, but she may be called *Mugis* now. The behavior due to this man will be described later.

Contemporary Generation. The children of my father, of my father's brothers, and of my mother's sisters, in fact, the children of all those whom I call *Tatab* and *Mamas* in their own right, are my brother, */Gāb*, and my sister, */Gās*. My older brother is */Gāb Geib*, my younger brother is */Gāb ≠Kami*. The form */Gāsab* may also be used. Nowadays, the forms *Butib*, *Butirob*, may be used from the Dutch Boetie (brother). My sister is */Gās keis*, my younger sister */Gās ≠Kams* or */Gāsas*. These terms are used by both men and women. The term *Sisis* is also in use, especially *Ousis*, from the Dutch *ou*, meaning old, and *Sussie*, meaning sister. The form *Sisiros* is formed with the Nama diminutive particle *ro*.

Nowadays, further, these relatives are sometimes distinguished as */Ge /Gāsab*, */ge /Gāsas* (from */ge* to have twins), that is, twin brother, twin sister, to distinguish them from the cross cousins who may be called *//Nâri /Gāsab*.

My father's sister's son is my *//Nârib*. My father's sister's daughter is my *//Nâris*. These forms are used by both men and

[13] This word, *Tàras*, is to be very carefully distinguished from another *Tarâs* which means wife.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

601 women. If I am a man, I may call my father's sister's daughter *Tarás*, that is wife, while if I am a woman I may call my father's sister's son *Aob*, husband. Nowadays, these cousins may be called *//Nâri!Gâsob*, *//Nâri !Gâsas*, but these forms are admittedly late.

My mother's brother's son is my *//Nârib*, or, like his father, my *//Nâob*. Or he may be called by a descriptive term, *//Naob* (Nôap's son). He may also be called *//Nâri !Gâsab*. A woman speaking may call him *Aob*.

My mother's brother's daughter is *//Nâris*, or *//Nâri !Gasas*, or she may be called *//Nâos*. A man speaking of her may call her *Tarás*, wife.

First descending generation. The term applied to children is *ôan* or */Gôan* (boy *ôab* or */Gôab*, girl *Ôas* or */Gôas*), from the verb *oa*, to bear. These terms are applied to his own children by a man and to the children of his brothers, older or younger; and by a woman to her own and to the children of her sisters.

A man calls his sister's children *//Nârin* (*//Nârib*, *//Nâris*), but there is no distinctive term by which a woman calls her brother's children. She uses a descriptive term, *!gâb Ôab*, *!gâb Ôas*, or *Tàrab Ôap*, *Tàrab Ôas*. Here we find the word *Tàrab* which is no longer used in reference to the brother himself but is still used in this combination. *Tàrâb* corresponds to *Tàras* and means the one who must be respected.

Second descending generation. The children of any */Gôan* are *//Nârin*. This is, then, the reciprocal term of *//Nâob* and *//Nâos*.

Relatives by marriage. A wife calls her husband *Aob*. The term is applied also by a woman to her sister's husband and her husband's brother. An old term for husband, no longer used, is *Xâib* (from the verb *Xâi*, to have sexual intercourse). A husband calls his wife *Tarás* (formerly *Xâis*). The term is applied also by a man to his brother's wife and to his wife's sisters. The general term for relatives by marriage is */Uin*, or *!Nâ Khoin*, from the verbs */ûi* and *!nâ* to become related by marriage. Thus, it is applied in the masculine form, */ûip*, to the wife's father, the wife's brother, the sister's husband, the daughter's husband by a man; by a woman it is applied to the husband's father and the brother's

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

son. In the feminine form, */Uis*, it applies to the wife's mother and the son's wife when a man is speaking. It applies to the husband's mother, the son's wife, the husband's sister, and the brother's wife when a woman is speaking. 601

The husbands of two sisters call each other */Gámirab* or */Gámeb*. The wives of two brothers call each other */Gámes*.

/Ouras is a term sometimes used for the son's wife when a man is speaking. It is a general term applied to women who have married into the sib.

Practically all the old regulations with regard to marriage have broken down among the Hottentots. Marriage with any first cousin is now permitted, though on the other hand the older people are resisting the marriages of first cousins at all, whether direct or cross cousins. There is a difference here from tribe to tribe, some of them being more influenced by European contacts than others but the tendency in all is the same. All my older informants are agreed that the marriage of direct cousins was out of the question in the old days. With regard to the cross cousins there is some difference between the tribes. In some of them, e.g., the *//Haboben*, the *Gei //Khauan*, the *//Khau /Goan*, marriage with the mother's brother's daughter is said to have been far more usual than marriage with the father's sister's daughter. The terminology for these relatives seems however to show that in the past marriage with both the mother's brother's daughter and the father's sister's daughter was allowed, and the behavior towards these relatives confirms this. In addition, I have illustrations of both kinds of cross cousin marriage in genealogies. 582 177 184

The duties and privileges of relatives. The chief consideration in the behavior of Nama to one another is the relative ages of the people concerned. Respect for age is inculcated in every possible way, and the whole social organization of the people is an illustration of the fact. In the family deference and respect must always be paid to elders. Thus, of a number of brothers the eldest always has the honored place and the first voice in any debate. Family feeling is strong, however, and brothers generally hold together. The behavior proper to brothers is due to all those people called by the name "brother," and little difference is made by the fact 602

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

601 602 It will be seen from the account given of the kinship system and the "behavior patterns" accompanying kinship terms that the type of behavior which is expected of a person by another is directly indicated by the kinship term in use between them, so that a knowledge of these relationships is essential for an understanding of the whole moral regulation of the lives of the people.

619 There is just one other subject on which a few remarks may be appropriate. The relation of the tribes towards one another has been throughout the history of the Hottentots most capricious. On the one hand, one finds a great deal of intermarriage taking place between those tribes which happen to be near one another, and a great deal of visiting between the members of families so connected is always going on. Yet, on the other hand, there has never been sufficient feeling of solidarity between the tribes, for the Nama, or for the Hottentots in general, to organise themselves against a common enemy even when the danger was exceedingly great. Always one tribe has been played off against the others by all other peoples with whom they have come in conflict. There are many instances in their history in which two tribes have made an agreement with one another for some common object, but such agreements have always come to naught. There is even an interesting document,[*] signed by most of the Nama and Orlam chiefs, agreeing to sink all differences and to unite against the common enemy, the Herero, but the agreement was never actually put into practice. So the Nama, and the Hottentots in general, are coming to be a people whose history lies all in the past, whose tribal organization is totally disrupted, and whose distinctive culture is becoming a thing unknown even to themselves, because of their failure to hold together, and to face the incoming cultures with a strong feeling of group solidarity.

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[*] Drawn up in 1838. Translated in the Administrator's Report for S. W. Africa, 1922.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

000 suorum enaem timere coeperunt. Redeamus a diverticulo in viam.

Hic mihi silentio praetereundum non videtur, quod Afris nostris communi fratis sororisve nomine, more Israëlitarum indigitetur patruelis et consobrina, aliaque quarto consanguinitatis gradu se invicem contingentes.

Nullae illis artes, nulla opificia, nulli mercenarii, quique suorum apparatuum elaborator et artifex, nulli illis liberi, nullae litterae, omnia illis plus quam Cimmeriis immersa ignorantiarum tenebris: attamen cum Nicolao Almeida Lusitano Mosambiquae oriundo, et Britannica nave, cui Johannes et Maria nomen, huc delato, multus sermo mihi fuit, qui inter alia non spernendae indaginis retulit, prope sinum del Agoa Aethiopiam versus, se lapidibus maximae molis, in tropaei modum constructis inscriptos vidisse characteres, nulli Europaeo comiti notos: credendi autem temeritate reus non videbor, hinc conjecturam capiens, an non illic tot locis quaesitum Salomonis Ophir detegere liceat: eoque magis quod idem Nicolaus ad omnia stupenti asseveraverit, se inibi auri facti radiaque tantam vim vidisse, ut Americani Atahalibae opes horum divitiis collatae longe inferiores censeantur, seque una die bovem mactatum et in frusta dissectum Aethiopibus vendidisse, et viginti imo triginta auri libras informis, infecti et crimie obtisi (quasi ophirini) traxisse.

Hic ex castello Regis Lusitaniae *Sapoma* dicto, aliisque in regione *Symboo*, proficiscens, duodecim dierum justo itinere, in ejus metropolim *Mambosi* pervenit, ubi Praepotentis Regis *Sanpacatto* aula: qui tres ex centum et amplius concubinis, praepetum notarum sustulit filios. Lusitanorum loquentes, legentes et scribentes exacte satis

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S H 601

[46]) This must be the earliest mention of the fact that both Hottentots and AmaXhosa possess what anthropologists term "classificatory" systems of kinship nomenclature, whereby a man applies certain terms of relationship not only to members of his own family, but also, according to definite rules, to more remote relatives. Among the modern Namaqua, the term !gûs, used for brothers and sisters, is also used for the children of paternal uncles and maternal aunts (i.e., as O. says, they are also called brother and sister); but for the children of maternal aunts and paternal uncles there are different terms, i.e., they are not regarded as brothers and sisters. The AmaXhosa have a somewhat similar system of relationship terminology.

[47]) The supposition that what is now Southern Rhodesia and the adjoining districts of P.E.A. were the Ophir of the Scriptures is also found in earlier Portuguese writers, e.g. de Barros and dos Santos. Modern research has tended to discredit this theory, although it still crops up from time to time. Cf. the authoritative

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

the sword even of our own kin. But let me return from my digression.

Here I think I should mention that among our natives (i.e. the Hottentots) the names of brother and sister are, in the Israelitish fashion, bestowed on cousins on the father's or the mother's side; while among others (i.e. the Magosi) the names of brother and sister are given to those related to one another in the fourth degree.[56])

There are no arts and no crafts here, and no hired workers; every man is the designer and maker of his own equipment; they have no books, no writing; everything is plunged in an ignorance darker than Cimmerian night. I have, however, had much conversation with one Nicolas Almeida, a Portuguese born in Mozambique who came here in an English ship, the *John and Mary*. Among other matters worthy of investigation he told me that near Delagoa Bay on the Ethiopian side he saw characters cut on stones of huge size that had been set up in the manner of a trophy. These characters were not familiar to any European of his company. I shall not be held guilty of rash credulity if I suggest the query whether we may not here discover the Ophir of Solomon, which has been sought in so many places.[57]) This is the more likely as the same Nicolas told me to my complete surprise that he had seen there such a quantity of gold both wrought and unwrought that the wealth of the American Atahualpas compared with their riches would be found far inferior; and that he one day sold to the Ethiopians an ox which he had slain and cut up, and got therefor twenty, nay thirty pounds of gold, unshaped and unwrought, but wonderfully refined—*obrized* the Portuguese say, which suggests *Ophirized*.

Setting out from the fort of the King of Portugal in these parts, which is called *Ingome*, and lies in the district *Symbao*, he came, after a full twelve days' journey, to the capital *Mombooi*, where there is the court of the powerful king *Sompanetto*.[58]) This king had, from his hundred and more concubines, three sons of great promise, who spoke, read, and wrote the language of the Portuguese with a fair degree of correctness. This they owed to the complaisance

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discussion of the whole question by G. Caton-Thompson, *The Zimbabwe Culture*, Oxford 1931.

[56]) *Ingome* may be an attempt to write the name of the R. Ingomiarou, near whose mouth is Sofala, one of the earliest Portuguese strongholds in E. Africa; *Symbao* is probably meant to represent *Monomotapa*, *Mombooi* = *Mwene*, the hereditary name of the Rozwi (Shona) chiefs; *Sompanetto* I cannot identify. On the Portuguese in E. Africa, see Theal, *Records of S.E. Africa*, where most of the available records are reprinted.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Translation:

Iis was born at Saron (*Ikhoub*) in the year of the great snow. The snow covered all the huts. At that time the huts were made of mats. The mats were made of rush. The women collected the rushes in the river.

Note:

The Links returned to Saron in 1875 (See "History of the Links tribe."). In 1876 there was an abnormal fall of snow. The Government Land-Surveyor, A. C. Bailie, leaving on a Government mission for the North, writes: "On the evening of the 23rd June 1876, I started my waggon (from Kimberley) . . . . On arriving at Barkly West, about eighteen miles from here, I found my waggon stuck on account of the snow" (*Imperial Blue Book*, C. 2220-79 p. 74). He had been already delayed in Kimberley for the same reason (*ibid*, p. 47). Therefore *Iis* was born in 1876. She further told me and this was corroborated by *Tabab* and *Khoi*, that they were still living in rush-mat huts at the end of the Anglo-Boer war (1902).

Funeral of a Chief.

gommab te /nuwe o, ina /kobab /nuwe-ina /khoub dibae, ina kakhwa /nuwae, ina /karub !anibae, ina /kha: //o:b qtuxumni na xumie, ina //na:ba //guisie, ina /nai /karuba /khu ka?amme, ina /ha:ba thurue.

Translation:

If a chief is buried, he is buried in a grave. A chamber is made for him. Twigs are strewn. Then a mat is spread out. Then the dead body is wrapped up in a kaross. Then it is laid down. Then it is closed up with another mat. Then earth is thrown (over him).

Note:

My informants were *Tetab* and *Iis*. We had been talking about the grave of Johannes Links at Saron, which we had recently visited. *Tetab* told me he had seen the burial, and I asked him to give me a description of it. It surprised me that the old Hottentot practice of burying the body in a sitting posture was not mentioned. *Tetab* denied this and here he is supported by a very accurate observer, Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 516

In plate 4, the grave of Johannes Links is seen marked by a heap of stones.

Terms of Relationship

The method used here was to procure from my informants genealogical lists (which follow later in these studies). Then the informants

[See M: Kuby, cat. 766, and plate 4. -Pauly 95]

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

60| were asked what they called the different members of the genealogy, these being named by their specific names. By this means, a direct question embodying the English or Afrikaans term was avoided and it was thus possible to secure the real Korana word denoting the particular relationship.

Referring to the genealogical lists,

A. (Genealogical list of *Matiti* and *!gobo ǂ:aa*)

!gobo ǂ:aa called	*Api* (father)	*ti !b ;*
	Dyelani (mother)	*ti !s ;*
	Matiti (father's brother)	*gri ts* ("groot pa")
	Matouma (grandfather) ..	*ti //naub ;*
	!Kurubob (great-grandfather) ..	*ti gri //naub ;*
	Eabi (cousin by father's brother)	*ti !hãs ;*
	Otomas (-do-)	*ti !hãs.*

B. (Genealogical list of the Links Chiefs)

Khois called	*!Aubois* (cousin by father's brother)	*Ti !hãs ;*
	Brihib (-do-)	*ti !hãb ;*
	Geip !haroip (grandfather) ..	*ti //naub ;*
	Ouhomas (grandmother) ..	*oumas ;*
!Kutsi called	*Tabab* (Father-in-law)	*ti!aib ;*
	Khois (mother-in-law)	*ti!ais ;*
	Loli (daughter)	*ti ãas ;*
	Dani (son)	*ti ãab ;*
	Ovoas (wife)	*ti taras ;*
Ovoas called	*!Kutsi* (husband)	*ti aai ;*
	Katnilib (mother's brother) ..	*Ti //naunab ;*

C. (Genealogical list of *Meis* and *Iis*)

Iis called	*Hinas* (father's sister)	*ti mookis, oumas ;*
	Seko: (uncle by marriage) ..	*ti //naub ;*
	Mulubab (cousin by mother's sister)	*ti //naub ;*
	Tawas (father's sister)	*ti mookis ;*
	Bupas (cousin by mother's sister)	*ti //naub.*
!gaube called	*Iis* (mother)	*ti !s ;*
	Kiwido (grandfather)	*outab ;*
	Tawas (great aunt)	*oumas ;*
	Hinas (great aunt)	*oumas ;*
	Seko: (great uncle)	*outab ;*
	Meis (mother's elder sister) ..	*gri mas ;*
	Mulubab (second cousin) ..	*mas //naub.*

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Note :

These terms are used : (i) in conversation with third parties ; (ii) when a younger member of the family addresses an older one. (iii) When the older person addresses a younger one in the family, the personal name is used by that elder person. The practice in (ii) seems to be falling into disuse, to the great sorrow of my informants. On account of the method used here, the lists are not so full as they should be, e.g. the children of the mother's brother, as they do not appear in the genealogies, have not been recorded. The *Nama* family relationships and the terms denoting them have been exhaustively dealt with by Schultze (op. cit. p. 300-303) and by Mrs. Hoernlé (the Social Organisation of the Nama Hottentots, in *American Anthropology*, xxvii, p. 17-23). Cp. also Schapera (op. cit. pp. 230-233). Since our lists do not contain all the possible details, a thorough comparison of the Nama and Korana systems cannot be made here, though it can be said that the two agree with some differences in detail.

There is a further important deduction to make from our genealogical lists in connection with the giving of names. The Nama custom in this respect is well known. The sons take the mother's name, changing its final *-s* into a *-b* to make it masculine and the daughters, the father's name, making the converse change of *-b* into *-s*. Meinhof (op. cit. p. 17) has recorded, from his informant Benjamin Kats, the same exchange of names, without, however, any addition of the *-b* or *-s*. It will be gathered from a perusal of the genealogical tables of the Links Korana, that this practice does not obtain among them. On their being questioned, after the lists had been taken, they professed complete ignorance of the custom.

IMPLEMENTS, ETC.

Stone Artefacts.

Tarakhoedi na /o:khoa /khûrus tki hoib tkikha khau /hoa. //hoa ha ha hje na /hû, ina huri //hur ha'pa ha. oaob ha'ai //nlikhoa na /oro //na:n. /khoredi ha'aquakhoa na tokokhoedi dikha. gaida khoakhoa tkje dikha. //guru /naikhoa tdo hje di tama. na:khoa hokje di hoa.

Translation :

The women dig for "*uintjes*" with the board-stone and the stick. In the morning they go. They return in the afternoon, in the winter, when the leaves dry off.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

196 Khoikhoi family had separated. Here I may add that
174 the Khoikhoi name for Betyuana is Bri or Biri (Briqua of the Cape Records), and this appellation is generally derived from *biri, goat;* thus the Tyuana are the *Goat people.* But I am more inclined to derive the word *Biri*qua from ba-*Beri*, or ba-Pedi, or ba-Beli, a Tyuana tribe, who formerly lived more to the South, in the present Free State, and are of Suto (Basuto) extraction, who form again a sub-family of the Tyuana.

● 601 Before the Khoikhoi left their primordial "Fatherland,"
196 the various degrees of relationship were already estab-
174 lished. Father as genitor was ǁgŭ-*b;* as protector *t-b;* as master *saub;* as friend *āb, tatab, abob* and *abo-īb.* Amongst many other names for mother was that suggestive expression *ei-goe*, the one *who looks upon*—viz., the child (from *ei* upon, and *go* to look, to see). Strange enough, uncle and grandfather, or ancestor, were called ǁhaub; the son-in-law was ǁnu-ri-b, and he had to spend his first years like Jacob in the service of his father-in-law. He was the *old man's* companion in the hunting-field as well as in the war. Polygamy was customary, as we can see from the appellations *gei-ris*, the *elder wife*, the *great-wife*, and ǁā-*ri-s*, the *younger wife.* As we shall see in the following chapter, Heitsi-eibib, their great-grandfather, had a second wife. And the laws of *succession* and *inheritance* are now-a-days the same among the surviving tribes as they were before their separation. Law, ǂhanub means what is right, straight, what is in a straight line. A *great-man's*, or, to speak more familiarly, a gentleman's, word was a *true word* (*amab*), and it was a disgrace to a "*great-man*" to speak untruth, or to ǂhumi *or gūra.* Boys when they became of age were told *not to lie*, not to steal ǁā, and not to ill-treat the other sex, not to commit rape. The vendetta, ǁkharab, was in practice, which means *the-doing-in-return.* Sin, guilt, and wickedness was expressed by the word ǁo-re-b, evidently derived from the word ǁō, to die; ǁoreb thus means what makes *liable to death*, and ǁoreχa wicked, sinful.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

Ti χamse! My lioness!

!Gaibista ǀaote! Art thou afraid that I will bewitch thee?

Gomasa ke ǀausi ǁgani !omsaĭ!

Thou milkest the cow with a fleshy hand—*i.e.*, with a soft hand.

Natere! Bite me—*i.e.*, kiss me!

ǀGabi-ǀkhatere! Pour for me (milk)!

Ti χamse! My lioness.

Gei khoits ǒase! Great man's daughter.

The uncle always calls his niece, the brother's or sister's daughter, "*Ti χamse*," my lioness.

The highest oath a man could take and still takes, was to swear by his eldest sister, and if he should abuse this name, the sister will walk into his flock and take his finest cows and sheep, and no law could prevent her from doing so. A man never can address his own sister personally; he must speak to another person to address the sister in his name, or in absence of anybody, he says so that his sister can hear, "I wish that somebody will tell my sister that I wish to have a drink of milk," &c., &c. The eldest sister can inflict even punishment on a grown-up brother, if he omits the established traditional rules of courtesy and the code of etiquette.

The art of making mats (ǂgaru-ti) and of bending poles (ǂhana-gu) for their beehive-shaped mathouses was common to all Khoikhoi; and pottery, and the manufacture of milk vessels (ǂhoe-ti), and wooden dishes (ǂoreti), and wooden basins and bowls (a-χu-ti or ǂgabi-ti), must also have been established before their pre-historic migration took place, for the substance of which their pots are made is the same, clay and ground-quartz. I have fragments of pots dug from the shores of the Southern Cape Colony, and from the outskirts of the Kalihari, which in shape and substance show no difference; and the Namaquas of the present day still make pots in the old style, though traders sell to them iron pots very cheap (ǂgt sū-s, to boil, to cook ǂāi).

B /260 cont./

191 In addition to the Bushman language, the Heikum of the
192 Omatako also speak Nama, whereas the Kung of the Kaukau
193 Veld speak only their Bushman language. The reason for this is readily seen if one realizes that the Kaukau Veld is an oasis enclosed on all sides by the large waterless stretches of the Kalahari, and hence is visited only during the rainy season by a few Betschuana hunters, but otherwise is completely isolated. Most of the Bushmen whom we encountered in the Kaukau Veld had never seen a white man prior to our arrival.

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601

Word List and Grammatical Outline of the Heikum and Kung Language

1. Persons

English	Heikum	Kung	Nama
Human being	tschu	tschu	Khóib
Man	tschu n|ò (|o = männlich)*	tschu n|ò	áob
Woman	tsau	tschau	tarás
Son	daba |oma	daba |oma	|onb
Daughter	daba tsauma	daba tschauma	|oas
Brother	tang	tang	|gaaab
My brother	mé tang	me tang	—
Sister	tsau tang	tsau tang	|gaa
Father	ombá	ombá	dadáb
Mother	medeí	medeí	n.áma
Grandfather	omba n|à (n|a — alt)**	omba n|à	aóda
Grandmother	tschau |á	tschau |á	aómama
Master	gaucha	gaucha	gáob
Captain of a settlement	tschu gaucha	tschu gaucha	—
Servant	ǂdi	tschu n‡oa	|kn
Herero	Damá	Damá	Damára
Betschuana	Biria	ǂgabé	Biria
Ovambo	|ave	—	—

*männlich, "male" **alt, "old"